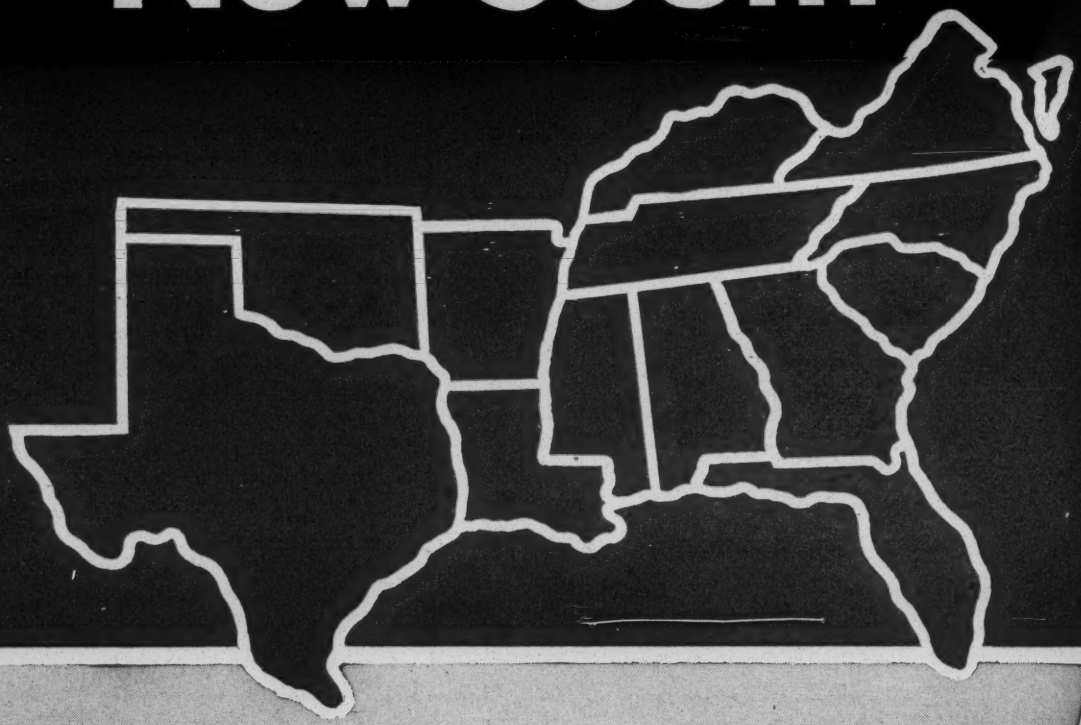
New South



- Christian Guide to Race Relations
- Ellis Wright and Bill of Rights
- Decision in Faubus Case
  Ralph McGill
- The Lonesome Road

MAY / 1958

New South

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Contents

Christian Guide to Race Relations 3

Ellis Wright and Bill of Rights 8

Decision in Faubus Case by Ralph McGill 10

The Lonesome Road 12

Southern Race Bombings 14

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New South Notes

More and more, responsible persons in the South are speaking out on race relations and the Southern "crisis" situation. The latest of these statements comes from Gainesville, Hall County, Georgia, where the ministerial association has spoken out. The ministers state their beliefs and give a set of principles they believe can be helpful in race relations in the South today. It is worth reading and can be helpful to the citizen actively seeking a solution to current integration problems.

Recently, the president of a Mississippi White Citizens Council, attacked a Methodist school in that state for inviting a person, purportedly pro-integration, to speak to the student body. The *Delta Democrat-Times*, in a penetrating editorial, explores the ideals contained in our Bill of Rights and applies them to the situation in Mississippi.

Most everyone today is aware of the dangers inherent in the growing list of violence and other bombings which has beset the South and Southern persons. Apparently, many persons wish to circumvent the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision; but few persons are willing to be personally identified with campaigns of violence. Where does the responsibility for this violence lie? Several items in this issue of *New South* attempt to answer this question. The most penetrating of these is a recent column by Ralph McGill, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*. In the column, Mr. McGill discusses Gov. Orval Faubus of Arkansas, his suit against the federal government, and the violence throughout the South.

Also in this issue is a book review of the recent book, *The Lonesome Road*.

"Christian Guide" To Race Attitudes

Reprinted from
The Daily Times
of
Gainesville, Georgia

This is the complete text of "Guide for Thought and Action in Race Relations" adopted April 28, 1958, by the Gainesville-Hall County Ministerial Association.

PURPOSE

This manual was prepared over a course of more than six months. It grew out of the deliberate and prayerful study of a group of Christian ministers in Gainesville and Hall County, Georgia. We feel that it will help answer some of the questions which our people are asking concerning the right attitudes, convictions, and courses of action in race relations. It was written because we have been encouraged by the efforts of other Christians to face this issue in our area and to state what we believe are the guiding Christian principles for those who seek to be Christian in race relations.

This guide was prepared to help our people give intelligent, careful study to one of the great moral issues of our time. We have written this guide to be used by individuals for their personal study, for families to discuss in their homes, for Sunday School classes and groups to study in our churches and community.

The purpose of this statement is to offer guidance in solving our racial problem. We have drawn up this proclamation because of our trusteeship to our local community, and not to clear our conscience. In a day when civilization is on trial for its life we dare not have a speech impediment on the most burning social issue of our time. Because we are interested in persons and are concerned about our people being the kind of person God wants them to be, we cannot keep silent about the forces, attitudes, and the prevailing atmosphere which are leaving an open wound in the soul of our people.

In this day of racial tension and discord, we want to help create a climate in

Guide

(Continued)

which we may find God's will for our society. In this guidance for those who are seeking to be Christian in race relations we seek to lift up the Christian Faith as the plateau from which we can see the solution to our racial difficulties. To resolve our racial dissension we must deepen our people's faith in the Christian message. We do not pretend to have the whole answer to our crucial, complex racial problem, but we believe that this statement is a part of the solution rather than a part of the problem. In this declaration we seek to clarify some of the Biblical doctrines which are relevant to our race problem, as well as suggest some principles for action.

PRINCIPLES OF AUTHORITY

As Christians we must not nullify what God has said and done by the traditions we seek to preserve. (Mark 7:13). As Christians we must bring our attitudes and practices on the race question under the searchlight of the basic doctrines of the Christian faith as revealed in the Holy Scriptures. As Christians we must reflect the mind of Christ, not the attitudes and practices of the community in which we live. We must always be willing to subject our attitudes and practices to the burning scrutiny of God's living word which speaks through the sacred record of His mighty acts in history. We believe the following five Biblical doctrines are relevant to our present race problem.

I. The Fatherhood of God

God is the creator of all men. The God who made you made us all. He, therefore, is no respector of persons. (Acts 10:34). The Bible and science teach that God made of one blood all nations of men. (Acts 17:26). As the Old Testament prophet put it: "Have we not all one Father? Has not one God created us? Why then are we faithless to one another?" (Malachi 2:10).

II. The Brotherhood of Man

First, all men are brothers by creation. God created all men. All men are brothers because they have the same Father, the same Creator. All of us come from a single parentage. To take the Biblical faith in one God seriously means to believe in the universal brotherhood of man—one God, one Father, one family. After man's creation, he sinned and fell. So, in the second place, we are all brothers in need, that is we are all brothers in a community of need. (Romans 3:22-23). In Christ man was restored. So, in the third place, we are all potentially brothers by redemption, that is, we are brothers in the community of the redeemed. (Romans 10-13). We are brothers by creation, by need, by redemption.

III. Sanctity of the Individual Person

Our Biblical faith declares not only that God created all men but also that He created us in His likeness. (Genesis 1:27). Made in His image, every person is of inestimable value. Men's rights, liberties, opportunities and privileges are guaranteed to them by their Creator and Redeemer as individual persons, rather than as members of a race or nation. Our Biblical faith places the sanctity of individuals above the sacredness of all institutions. The validity of an institution is determined by what it

does to people. "Our knowledge of men," said Paul, "can no longer be based on their outward lives." (2 Corinthians 5:11, Phillips).

IV. God's Reign in History

In the birth, life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, God invaded history and inaugurated His Reign among men. (Mark 1:14-15). In His Kingdom there are no races, only two humanities: those of Adam, of the flesh, and those born of Christ, of the Spirit. The Reign of God implies a realm over which He rules. A Christian is a person in whose heart God rules, and one who accepts the invitation to live as a citizen of God's Reign in the world. To believe in Jesus as Lord means to accept His Lordship in every area of our personal lives and of every segment of our society. As citizens of His Kingdom, we find our authority for faith and life within God's Beachhead, His Reign, rather than in the standards of the surrounding enemy territory. In the birth, life, death and resurrection of Christ, God established His Reign in history. He summons us through repentance and faith to live as citizens of His Kingdom. In our personal lives and in the life of our society, we must live by the laws of His Kingdom.

V. The Royal Law of Love

As citizens of God's Reign in history, we are under the captaincy of the royal law of love. (1 John 3:11). More than to any ecclesiastical organization or social institution, Christians belong to each other. We must strive to have an inextinquishable love for each other and for all men. The Christian's love causes him to identify himself with all men. For a tradition to block this self-identifying love is to violate God's compassion. The infallible, acid test for citizens of God's Reign in history is their love for each other. The Christian's love causes him to identify himself with those whom he loves: causes him to put himself into another man's skin, so that he may see through his eyes, hear through his ears, speak through his mouth, live where he lives, work where he works, and go to school where he goes.

PRINCIPLES OF ACTION

I. Freedom of Thought and Expression

Truth is eternal and indestructible; therefore, we believe in the right of dissent. We believe in the right of free speech even when the ideas expressed are false. To preserve our cherished tradition of free speech we must be zealous to protect the rights of those who differ with us. No citizen should be penalized for exercising this freedom, so long as he does not violate the rights of others. We believe that the dangers of allowing full freedom of thought and expression are always less than the dangers of denying that freedom.

Though fellow Americans disagree on the race issue, all of us must be eternally vigilant to protect each other's right to freedom of thought and expression. As Christians we must be zealous to create a climate in which everyone may voice his opinions without fear of penalty. With Milton, we believe in "the liberty to know, to utter, to freely argue according to our conscience, above all liberties." We disagree with those public officials among us who seek to preserve a changing tradition by violating the sacred principle of free thought and speech.

Guide

(Continued)

II. Open Avenues of Communication

As Christians we must do all we can to keep open the avenues of communication between leaders of all races. Without communication between us, we cannot know and understand each other. How can we have an intelligent love for those whom we do not know? For example, how can we know and have Christian sympathy for our Negro neighbors unless we seek to know them? Jesus kept open the avenues of communication with those whom society considered untouchables.

Communications between the leaders of both races have become strained, if not extinct, because of the tension, violence, and political demagoguery of these times. As Christians we must seek to remove all artificial barriers which obstruct free and open communication between races. Pathos and tragedy await our race if we bar our doors, close all avenues of communication, and withdraw from the human race. When we erect walls around our race we not only keep other people out, we also stunt our own souls by hemming ourselves in. To have free and open communication between races will keep down false suspicions, cancerous resentments and vicious misunderstandings. Whatever else may be involved in the solution of our racial problems, we believe that a climate in which we can have free and open communication between races is absolutely essential to find God's guidance for ourselves and for our society.

III. Preserve the Public School System

In our efforts either to preserve or to destroy segregation, we must not sacrifice our public school system to achieve our desired end. Our public schools are vital for the preservation, development and extension of democracy in our nation and throughout the world. Along with the Southern Baptist Convention, "we express our belief in the public school system of our nation as one of the greatest factors in American history for the maintenance of democracy and our common culture, and we express our hope that in the working out of necessary adjustments, its place in our educational program shall not be impaired." In these days of revolution and change, we must not allow anyone to wreck our public school.

IV. Maintain Faith in Powers of Persuasion

We are concious of many serious features involved in various attempts to solve our racial problem, but to forsake the method of persuasion for plans of coercion is to abandon the principle of the cross. In these days of tension when some forces seek to destroy segregation through legal coercion, and other forces strive to preserve it through legal compulsion. Christians must maintain their faith in the powers of persuasion within the Gospel of Christ to conquer kingdoms, subdue peoples, change customs, and kill the cancerous growth of social evils.

In our society both persuasion and coercion are necessary. We believe, however, that the ultimate solution of our racial problem lies within the realm of persuasion rather than coercion. As

Christians we must use all instruments and avenues of persuasion to make God's will operative in our society. At times coercion will be necessary. A mob which uses force to resist change must always be met with coercion from the constituted authorities. However, we should realize that coercion is futile either to stop change or to start it. We see no difference in the use of force to stop desegregation and the use of force to start it.

V. Practice Royal Law of Love

As Christians we are more concerned for men than we are for the institutions men have created. We are more concerned about the life of men than we are about our way of life. Men are sacred not the institutions they create. On one occasion Jesus, moved with compassion, put forth His hand and touched a leper. (Mark 1:41) Jesus violated a man-made tradition because it obstructed God's love. As Christians we must not allow a man-made institution to keep our compassion from expressing itself in acts of self-identifying love. Like Jesus, we must stretch forth our hand across this social chasm and heal the wounds of our Negro brothers. The hand we stretch forth must be one of love, one of a brother, of one in their affliction with them. "By this shall all men know that you are my disciples," said Jesus, "if you have love one for another." (John 13:35).

As Christians we must adopt an unyielding attitude of unbreakable good will toward everyone, those of other races, and those with whom we differ. We must practice grace on all individuals and races, that is, we must give them what they need, not what they deserve. We must love all men as individuals, not as members of a nation or race. We must govern all our relationships with men on the principal that people have rights as individuals rather than as members of a race.

In regard to our racial problem, the methods we employ either to promote change or to hinder it, and the spirit in which we pursue either course of action, are as important as the end we desire. As Christians we must be able to disagree without being disagreeable. Whatever the answer to our racial problem may be, we know it is not hatred, contempt, or violence. Those individuals who stir up turbulent emotions, fan into flame men's simmering racial prejudices, and incite hatred of fellow citizens, are not being led by the spirit of Christ.

VI. Sincerely Seek God's Guidance

A sincere desire to have God's guidance, along with time, patience and intelligence, are the ingredients required for overcoming our race problem. To the fellow Christians of this community, we say: "Come, let us reason together about this situation, though our race problem is acute and complex, He will show us the way, if we are willing to follow His guidance." Let us ask Him for the wisdom to know what needs to be changed and for the courage to change what He would have us abandon. The ultimate solution to our race problem is to keep looking at Christ, to keep seeking His mind, to keep trusting Him, to keep His friendship in good repair. In Him who strengthens us we are able for anything. (Philippians 4:13). In His friendship we shall find enough courage, humility and wisdom to be able to have His mind among ourselves.

Ellis Wright & Bill of Rights

From
The Delta Democrat-Times
March 11, 1958

Ellis W. Wright, the undertaker who is president of the Jackson Citizens Council, apparently is prepared to embalm and bury all that remains of academic freedom in Mississippi. His monstrous attack on Millsaps College in Jackson, because that distinguished Methodist institution dared permit a pro-integration speaker to address a number of its students, is not unexpected; but in a supposedly free state it is intolerable.

One does not have to be an integrationist to support the college's right to admit as a speaker Dr. Ernst Borinski, a white sociology professor at all-Negro Tougaloo College, and the equal right of Millsaps students and professors to meet with their Tougaloo contemporaries to discuss our nation's most perplexing domestic problems. This newspaper does not advocate the integration of the South's public schools; but that is actually beside the point. All citizens who believe in freedom of speech, whether segregationists or integrationists, should be ready to defend the real issue here. Every American has the privilege under the Bill of Rights to speak or write, without undue reprisal, whatever is on his mind, short of advocating the overthrow of our government and subject, to legal redress if his words are considered slanderous or libelous.

And every American also has the right to listen to any speaker, whatever his tenor, without being subjected to the smear and threats which Wright and his breed employ in place of the reasonableness and fair-mindedness which they so obviously lack.

We say that every citizen has such a right. Perhaps we are overly idealistic. Maybe we should add that every citizen possesses this precious boon only in such areas and states and institutions as

are not dominated by the kind of organization over which Wright presides in Jackson. We are fortunate here in Greenville that his ilk has not taken over. Under the Nazi-like conformity of thought which bigots demand, the ramparts upon which the First Amendment of the Constitution can be defended have all but crumbled in Mississippi: in our state-supported institutions, in many of our churches, in much of our press, in our streets, and even in our homes.

Today, if Ellis Wright had his way, the race-related opinions of the President of the United States—and his two predecessors—would have to be censored before they could be voiced in Mississippi. Neither Pope Pius XII nor any of his Cardinals or bishops, neither the Presiding Bishop nor the bishops of the dioceses of the Protestant Episcopal church, neither the rabbis of Judaism nor most of the ministers of the established Protestant denominations could pass this Jackson thought-embalmer's muster. Forbidden also to appear on a Mississippi forum would be a majority of the United States Senate and House of Representatives, a majority of the state governors, a majority of the nation's college teachers, and, if the polls can be trusted, a majority of the people of the United States.

Ellis Wright and his fellow thought-control policemen, as we have indicated, dominate a considerable number of the South's and Mississippi's institutions. This newspaper happens to be one of the institutions not so dominated. Neither, apparently, is Millsaps College. In the forlorn hope that Ellis Wright can understand, we quote from the answer of Millsaps' President Finger to this pathetic man's assault upon academic freedoms:

"Students have a right to hear various points of view. They are more mature in their judgments than they are sometimes credited with being. In an age when we are alarmed by the increasing controls of government, we should be strengthening those institutions which preserve and support freedom of speech. . . . a tightly censored control by church or other groups is as offensive and ultimately as fatal to freedom as state regimentation.

"Every thoughtful person needs carefully to consider that if freedom is attacked at one college, it will eventually be attacked at all educational institutions . . . Differences of opinion are welcomed. The only alternative is dreaded thought-control."

It is improbable that Ellis Wright can comprehend what Dr. Finger is talking about here. But he may get one point. We suspect that between the lines the president of Millsaps College is telling the president of the Jackson Citizens Council to read up on the American Constitution and to try to understand what its author, Thomas Jefferson, had in mind, when, in founding the University of Virginia, he espoused the right of the student mind to illimitable freedom of investigation.

"There is a place in America—as always—for criticism and for all legal efforts to reverse or amend court decisions or to eliminate by legislation. But there is no place for reckless defiance ... and encouragement of such defiance."

From an editorial in
The Atlanta Constitution

Decision In Faubus Case

By Ralph McGill
Editor
Atlanta Constitution
April 30, 1958

A United States appeals court, sitting in St. Louis, Mo., unanimously has dismissed suits by Gov. Orval Faubus, and others, against the government's actions in the Little Rock school case. At issue was the injunction against the governor's using state troops to oppose the district court's decree.

The direct issue was whether the governor could use state troops to deny a court decree.

It should be plain, as was here repeatedly noted at the time, that any other decision would mean anarchy.

If a governor, for example, can use state troops to defy the constitutional rulings and the law of the United States, he could, if he were power-drunk enough, use troops to close down newspapers which criticized him.

He could shut churches whose ministers might incur the governor's dislike by putting troops around them.

If a governor can use troops to defy the federal law and the rights guaranteed under the Constitution, he can use them to forbid public assembly, freedom of speech, and all other rights of the citizens.

This was the issue—one of law. There were still legal moves which could have been initiated in the segregation case. But not defiance of a court.

This is precisely what the three-judge court has said, in an emphatic and unanimous decision. It held that the state of Arkansas could not lawfully use its state force to suppress rights which it is the duty of the state to defend.

"The use of troops or police for such purposes would breed violence," the court said. "It would constitute an assurance to those who resort to violence to obtain their ends that if they gathered

in sufficient numbers to constitute a menace to life, the forces of law would not only not oppose them but would actually assist them in accomplishing their objective."

Surely no fair-minded citizen, no matter what his personal feeling for or against the school case, can deny the soundness of this decision.

Now, let us go a bit farther.

It is proper to say that the recent violence in Jacksonville, where a synagogue and a Negro school were bombed, is the work of crackpots. That is true.

It is somewhat ironic, although not amusingly so, to find many of the same sources which denounced the government for acting to prevent anarchy, now are strongly denouncing the crackpots and lunatic fringe bombers.

It is not amusing because, to a substantial degree, these dangerous fringe criminals are the product of those who so violently denounced the federal government for its insistence on upholding the decree of a federal court.

This certainly gave encouragement to those who are described as the lunatic and crackpot fringe. These persons are so described because they do not reason or think, and because they have no sense of citizenship or reverence for law. For persons and organizations in high places to give support to defiance of the courts encourages all criminals.

Certainly it is proper strongly to dissent from the court's decisions—that of the schools or any other. It is proper, as was done in the issue of probation, to seek legislation which would reverse the court. It still is perfectly all right to do this. It is still the full right of a state to close its schools or to seek other orderly evasions of the law.

But it is neither proper nor good Americanism to encourage or approve defiance of the law. There was a great deal of this in the Little Rock case. And it is this which produces the unamusing irony of seeing some of those who so encouraged disrespect for law and orderly procedure, now so carefully drawing back their skirts from the violence done by the lunatic fringe. The two are inseparable.

The three-judge court has simply said that a state may not use its forces to suppress rights—any of the rights—which it is the state's duty to defend. . . . Surely none of us, however we may feel about the school case, would wish any other decision.

It is reported from the Spartanburg-Gaffney area that the Ku Klux Klan is trying to raise money to help defend several men, some of whom officers say are klansmen, who are accused of bombing the home of a White family in Gaffney. . . .

If the accused persons really are klansmen, they must be wondering by now what became of all the money collected for initiation fees and dues and the profits on the sale of hoods and robes.

Further, if the Klan membership is as large as some leaders claim it is, they should have no trouble raising the defense fund among themselves.

What does become of the money paid in by Klan members anyway?—Greeneville, S. C., *News*.

The Lonesome Road

A

Book Review

THE LONESOME ROAD, Saunders Redding (Mainstream of America Series, edited by Lewis Gannett), Doubleday & Company, Inc., New York. 355 pp., $5.75.

The publishers suggest that Saunders Redding's study of the Negro's part in America will provide an illuminating approach to solutions of racial questions. Indeed, its most important contribution might well be to the field of human relations, for THE LONESOME ROAD is a book about people, not percentages, and in this fourth year of the Supreme Court school desegregation decisions, such literature is rare. Mr. Redding avoids the paradox and penalty of progress in human relations - dehumanization. Although it is a chronicle of progress. THE LONESOME ROAD is primarily the story of a people who:

". . . cry among the skyscrapers
As our ancestors
Cried among the palms in Africa
Because we are alone,
It is night,
And we're afraid."

THE LONESOME ROAD begins its story on a battleground, and it is the author's eye for unity as well as his sense of the dramatic which has caused him to select such a locale. In 1865, an unsuccessful assault on the Confederate stronghold, Fort Wagner, left five hundred and fifty-eight men of the Union army's 54th Massachusetts Regiment dead — five hundred and fifty-eight men of the first Negro regiment to be recruited in the free states. And an era of battle followed by the freedman,

battle for his country, battle for his race, and, undergirding both, the battle of the individual for the respect of his peers.

Although the Negro's part in the organized conflicts of this country are recorded in THE LONESOME ROAD, and indeed, recur as almost poetic interludes, the substance of this book is the battle of the individual. The author tells the story of a number of men and women who have contributed greatly to their country and race; men and women who have fought for the privilege of making their contributions. Some of them, Thurgood Marshall, W. E. B. DuBois, Philip Randolph, Frederick Douglass, Langston Hughes, are well known figures, while others are perhaps known only to students of Negro history. Their stories, as recorded by Mr. Redding, are vital and inspiring. The author does not fear the truth. He blends the courageous with the tragic, the foolish with the wise.

The career of Daniel Hale Williams is a case in point. Dr. Williams was the first man ever to successfully perform surgery on the human heart, an operation which brought him international acclaim. Yet his dedication was not to personal fame but to the welfare of the Negro people and, recognizing that "To attack the medical problems of Negroes (is) necessarily to attack the problem of race," Williams singlehandedly organized, staffed, and secured backing for the country's first interracial hospital, Chicago's Provident Hospital and Training School. He was soon recognized as one of the country's greatest surgeons, but service to his people—the Negro people—was his only concern. Yet Mr. Redding records the tragic story of the intrigues of a jealous colleague influenced by Williams' skin coloring, which was lighter than his own) who caused Dr. Williams to be attacked and rejected by his people. His interracial activities had made him vulnerable to charges of "disloyalty to the Negro race."

Other stories are less tragic; that of the Abolitionist crusader, Sojourner Truth, whose untaught wisdom and dignity triumphed over slaveholders who accused her of fraud; Joe Lewis, who with a knockout blow to the German Max Schmeling also jabbed a fist in the face of racism; Thurgood Marshall, whose virtuosity provided his people with a most effective weapon, the striking power of jurisprudence. A record of Marshall's career provides a particularly brilliant climax for THE LONESOME ROAD, which ends with a dramatic account of triumph — the 1954 Supreme Court decision.

The author has interwoven a chiaroscuro of people and events into an impressive panorama, a record of the history of the Negro in America and the Negro's contribution to American history. In actuality, they are the same. The contributions of the Negro race to the culture and progress of this country have been many, but the struggle for equality and respect, which *is* the hostory of the Negro in America, is a contribution to the structure of our democracy itself. Mr. Redding's chronicle of history and contribution can be of great value in this country's present struggle to make democracy workable for all, a "war" which is, in Thurgood Marshall's words, ". . . not over yet. We've still got work to do."

Southern Race Bombings

The Chattanooga Times

Several hours after the dynamiting of a Negro school and a synagogue in Jacksonville, Fla., a satchel full of the explosive, with the attached fuse burned out apparently by chance, was discovered at Temple Beth-El Synagogue in Birmingham.

Together with similar incidents in Nashville and Miami these senseless acts have the earmarkings of a pattern. The same persons or "organizations" might not be responsible but one craven piece of violence suggests another.

The police in these communities are going to be hard put to find the guilty ones. But if they are not found and swiftly punished, the degeneracy may grow. Chattanooga's and Hamilton County's own lack of success in tracking down a series of bombings here is still to be deplored.

The segregation issue has taken somewhat a back seat to the recession but the tragedy in Jacksonville, and the near-tragedy in Birmingham, prove that diseased minds are determined to plague a troubled Southland.

The Atlanta Journal

The explosions at Jewish and Negro institutions in Jacksonville, Fla., will be heard around the world in disgust, and no less so here in the South.

The bombings are the work of a sick mind. How sick is suggested by the bomber's mad assumption that what he did will gain approval in the eyes of some of his fellow men, or substantially influence people or events.

Tragically, all he reaps is harm and hurt for those who suffer directly from his acts and those whom in his twisted way he thought to serve.

His, is unhappily, another in a series of incidents of its type which do incalculable disservice to the South. The incidents in recent months at Nashville, Atlanta and Jacksonville are eagerly grasped by many who are eager to malign and abuse the South.

And by those who seemingly believe the South is capable of nothing better than this.

The bomber thus gets small satisfaction. He cannot gloat he has caused the masses to rise and join him. The one thing he can be assured of is that he and others like him will gain little or no following.

Indeed, his acts will be taken by people in this section for just what they are—misguided, senseless acts that stir great sympathy for those who suffer because of them.

There is even human sympathy for the bomber's kind, for they are the victims of the lunatic fringes on both sides of the racial question who have their greatest—and their worst—effects on minds like his.

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

. . . Unquote

"We believe that those responsible for these acts of violence, who are unapprehended, are increasingly extending their vicious activities to include religious institutions in many states. These events suggest that there may be concerted action involving people in several states to commit violence against religious institutions. We feel this situation warrants a thorough investigation by the F. B. I."

The National Council of Churches
Quoted in the *New York Times*

• • •

"(The bombings are the work of the) scum of the earth—men who go out for the sake of membership fees and live high on the hog while a bunch of poor stumblebum suckers foot the bill. The Klan is more of a menace to Florida than the Communists. I tried to reform it, but violence kept popping up all over the place. We burned all our robes and books when we disbanded. Any Klan operation in this state is being run by E. L. Edwards, head of the U. S. Klans in Atlanta."

W. J. Griffin, Grand Dragon,
Florida Ku Klux Klan, before
its disbandonment, quoted in
Miami Herald

• • •

"It's all part of this Ku Klux Klan revival business. The whole business is instituted by bigoted literature and rabble-rousers who want Negroes, Jews and Catholics proscribed. I'd walk from here to Nashville or Miami to help break any of these cases. They are instigated by bigots to undermine constitutional government and the bill of rights."

Police Chief Frank Littlejohn,
Charlotte, N. C.,
Quoted by Associated Press

• • •

"There are haters among us. There always have been and, barring some unexpected perfection of the human race, there always will be. There are haters in the White Citizens Councils. As the (*States Rights*) *Advocate* said, their very numerical strength is a source of danger. It is reassuring to see the danger is beginning to be recognized."

From an editorial in
The Montgomery Advertiser

• • •

"The longer the perpetrators of these bombing attacks go undiscovered and unpunished, the more outbreaks of violence may be expected. We are grateful for the prompt investigations launched by state and city police in Jacksonville, Miami, Nashville and other Southern cities in which bombings have taken place or been attempted."

American Jewish Congress
Quoted by International News Service